1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15



By 1840 the Yuman scene had changed materially from that of the century preceding. The lower Colorado was in the hands of the Mohave upstream, the Yuma at the mouth of the Gila, and the Cocopa nearer the Gulf. But the Halchidhoma, Kohuana, and Halyikwamai, tired of being battered about and unable to secure freedom from attack on the river, had gone to join the Maricopa and their Pima allies. Some remnants of the Halyikwamai and Kohuana perhaps remained: the former in the mountains southwest of the Yuma, the latter resident among the Mohave.

### MARICOPA AND KAVELTCADOM SETTLEMENTS

The Maricopa have lived on the Gila above its junction with the Salt since at least 1800. Their settlements were on both sides of the river from Sacate and Pima Butte to Gila Crossing as the western limit. On mesquite gathering and fishing expeditions, they were accustomed to camp along the slough (Santa Cruz River) at the northeastern foot of the Sierra Estrella, in the Gila-Salt confluence, and on the Salt as far upstream as Phoenix, but they had no settlements there. No one lived permanently on the Salt River below the point where it emerged from the mountains. In fact, the whole of the open plain north of the Gila to the mountains was unoccupied as too exposed to Yavapai and Apache attacks.

The principal settlements were on both sides of the Gila below Sacate.[32] When the Halchidhoma came from Mexico, they established themselves below the Maricopa at Sacate, i.e., nearer Pima Butte. The Kohuana-Halyikwamai, on coming from the Colorado, settled about the sandhills on the north side two miles southeast of St. John's Mission in the direction of Gila Crossing. This mixed group was still quite large in 1850: it was said that

[Text continues on page 20.]

itary aged Kohuana woman and two Halyikwamai speaking families of young people.

[32] Lumholtz's Papago annals imply that the Maricopa were living in 1850 at Red Rock in the Santa Cruz valley. It is doubtful that this can mean a permanent settlement so far east and in Pima territory (*New Trails in Mexico*, p. 74).

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15



361 there were so many that a small pond a mile and a half east of Gila Crossing was crowded with bathing children.[33]

The settlements of the combined "Maricopa" community about the middle of the last century were the following (Fig. 3):

103 361
1. cĥ,ʌai'kwĭtĭta'llc, "more than a few sandhills" (lit. "sand higher"), was the most westerly village. It lay close to the sandhills on the north bank of the Gila. Beyond this to the west was mesquite gathering ground.
2. tĭlpo"pĭlyʌmĭn, "scorched roadrunner," east of the above on the same bank.
3. ʌɣʌ'gua'l,ʌ, "water showing," was by a slough to the east of the last.
4. kwuckl'tkwʌxau'lc, "potsherds," on the north bank to the east.
5. utcl'ʊau'lc, "coals lying around," lay on the south bank almost opposite No. 2.
6. xiko"tokl'tŏv'au'lc, "Mexican cut down something standing" (xiko', "Mexican, white man"; tokl't, "to cut down") was somewhat farther from the river than the preceding.
7. ʌɣ'atwota'ʌʌ, "thick cottonwood," on the south bank perhaps a mile above No. 4.
8. ʌɣ'akwʌɣo't, "good cottonwood," lay close to the river south of the last.
9. cĭ'kŏv'ᵏau', "standing bone" (ʌca'k, "bone"), was just below Maricopa Wells, close to Santa Cruz slough. This was the most important village in Mexican days;[34] that in which the chief lived. No one lived directly at Maricopa Wells until after the coming of the Americans in the decade 1850-60.
10. kwatu'lxalyapŏ'mlc, "lizard fell into the water," was on the north bank, seemingly due east of No. 8.
11. kusi'l,dj, "rough dirt," perhaps a mile or more above the last on the north bank.
12. iu'ɣn,lvai'ls, "living there with colds" (iu'ɣ, "colds"), on the south side west of No. 11.
13. ɣapi'vlc, "cattails" (? grow in the slough at this place), on the south side four miles west of Sacate.
14. ʌɣta"ʌll, "reedy place," a village at a long sloughy place east of Maricopa Wells. (The same name was given to the locality west of No. 12.)
15. xuln,inivʌau'lc, "cactus standing,"[35] on the south side of the Gila two miles west of Sacate.
16. mlse'kwlni'l,, "black muddy slough" (mlse', "muddy slough"), was located where the present settlement Sacate now stands. This was the last village to the east.

[Text continues on page 22]

[33] Bartlett in 1852 stated that only ten Cawinas survived (*Personal Narrative*, II, 251).

[34] It was known to the Mexicans by the literal translation Huesa Parada, according to my informant. This is listed as El Juez Tarado (1), the residence of the chief Juan Chevereah, in the *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1858*, p. 207.

[35] A cactus resembling cholla, but very thorny; thorns white; grows in the mountains.

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Maricopa

102
133
361

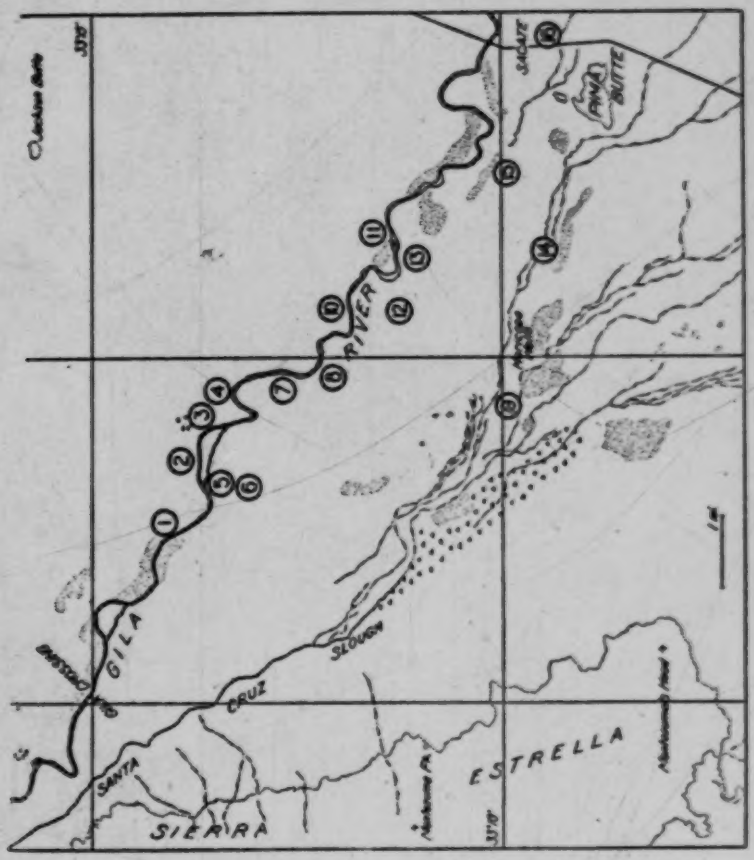


FIG. 3.—Location of Maricopa villages

[See page 20, category 116, for place names.-Analyst]

[p. 21]

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Maricopa
Halchidhoma
Yuma
Mohave



The settlements were scattering and constantly shifting within this area. Houses were scattered, not in compact clusters. The Maricopa-Halchidhoma settlement near Maricopa Wells about 1850, for instance, contained houses one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet apart, and extended perhaps for two miles. By the middle of the last century, the accumulated losses from Yuma-Mohave attacks had become so great, that for protection communities were settled more compactly.

In 1852 Bartlett described these groups. "The villages consist of groups of from twenty to thirty habitations, surrounded by gardens and cultivated fields, intersected in every direction by acequias, which lead the water from the Gila."[36]

The shifting locus of the settlement seems based on an old habit. When someone died, his residence was burned, and the family reestablished themselves elsewhere. In fact, several related families would commonly decide to relocate. They might go but a mile or so, but this would furnish a nucleus for a new community. Other families would soon follow. Because of this, practically every inch of the valley from Sacate to Gila Crossing had at one time or another been the site of dwellings. The practice is ancient: it was tremendously accelerated in recent times by the rapid decimation under attack and epidemic.

Some of the shifting was due to seasonal residence. The villages were on higher land away from the river, beyond the reach of winter and spring floods. The fields, in the bottom land subject to inundation, contained scattered summer residences:[37] the regular earth-covered houses, needed against rain. In winter, the Maricopa gathered in more compact communities on higher ground.

A few names of topographic features and place names were recorded. The Gila had no name: it is merely ʌʒa', "water," "river." The Salt was ʌʒaɛ'ɲd, "one river," so named, Mrs. Redbird thought, because, unlike the Gila, it has no affluents in the plain. (Its modern name is ʌʒaɛ'l, "salty water.") Hassayampa Creek was ʒataikuve'ʌʒ, "hard canyon." The Colorado was ʒa'kwlʧʌʒ, "red water." The country about Sacate, and perhaps the river itself have "always" been called ʒil. The district farther down the Gila toward the Salt River junction was 'ic'llyʌmu'e ('ic', "screw bean mesquite"), from the quantity of mesquite

[36] Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, II, 233.

[37] Where Bartlett saw them in the summer of 1852 (*loc. cit.*).

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Kaveltcadom
Yuma



growing there. The Santa Cruz slough and the country about it at the foot of the Sierra Estrella was ɨχaxaʼlʲɨᴬ, "salty water." A place east of Sacate, beyond Blackwater, was called iʼivᴬauʼ, "standing stick." It is said that some Pima are still called by this place name. [103] [133]

Four nearby heights were named: Pima Butte (vivaʼvâ, "solitary mountain"), Sierra Estrella (vialʲɣaʼ, "berdache mountain"), Salt River Range (vikwaχaʼs, "greasy mountain"), and a butte, probably a northwesterly outlyer of the Sierra Estrella, south of the Gila and just below the Salt junction (χagàvlcâðoʼ, "water divider").[38] Sierra Estrella as seen from Sacate appeared to the Maricopa as a person lying on his back covered with a blanket, hence it was also called pipakwatkʲɨʼɨᴬ, "man lying on his back." A peak at the eastern end was called magoʼxokâxavíʼg, "two heads."[39] A butte at the northeastern foot of the Sierra was called "the mortar." A high hill on the north side of the Gila opposite Pima Butte, said to look like house ruins, was matâuʼlgwlɨðeʼᵛc, "high dirt that is a shaman," (mat, "dirt"; âuʼl, "high"). Painted Rock Mountains were kukupuʼxânyivaʼc, "Kukupura's house," named for a spirit living in a cave in these mountains. In the mountains to the north of the Salt River were "willow mountain" (viʼiðoʼ) south of Prescott, possibly Crown King; "ridge pole mountain" (viakávânauʼ), a little north or northeast (so called because its top is level); and "dancing with horn" (ʼikwlmkwimaʼtc), a mountain east of the last.

The country of the Kaveltcadom was on the lower Gila from Gila Bend for fifty miles downstream to the Mohawk Mountains, that is, halfway to the Colorado.[40] The Mohawk Mountains, their western limit, were called ᴬvikatcâkwiʼnᵧᴬ, "granary basket mountain." The Yuma came upstream as far as Antelope Hill, fifteen miles west of this. It was called axpĕ", "metate," a name recorded by Garcés and Font in 1775. (Forde writes that the Yuma travelled there for stones from which to manufacture metates.[41]) Between the two was a little cleared space, perhaps a barren wash, or the line of sandhills known to be there, which was regarded as the actual boundary.[42] The Kaveltcadom were [361] [103] [103] [306] [123]

[38] For the reason for these names, see p. 252.

[39] Hence the peaks of this range on modern maps, "Montezuma Sleeping," "Montezuma Peak," and "Montezuma's Head." The Maricopa also refer to the Sierra in connection with the xanávaeʼ, "king" (Spanish *general*), whom they may associate with the "Montezuma" of their tradition.

[40] There are none in this country now, the reservation at Gila Bend containing only Papago.

[41] Forde, *Yuma Ethnography*, p. 102.

[42] It seems strange that an actual line should figure as a boundary, but it must be remembered that both peoples were in the habit of drawing lines on the ground before commencing their highly formalized battles.

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Kaveltcadom



• 361 said to be wholly on the south side of the river, scattered at considerable intervals. They farmed the bottom land on the river, without dams or ditches, planting only after the seasonal floods. The Kaveltcadom were also known by the name of their most [103] important district, kwa'akâma't, the wide fertile lowlands about Gila Bend (kwa'ak, a mesquite-like tree growing everywhere through the farm lands there; âma't, "farm"). Strictly speaking, the name applies only to the slope from just south of the present town of Gila Bend to the river after it turns westward. Settlements stretched continuously through the length of this district, as Anza also noted in 1775. Although the settlements extended westward to Mohawk, the bulk of the population was said to have been nearer Gila Bend. This is in agreement with Spanish evidence from the eighteenth century, given below.

103 361 Kaveltcadom settlements known to Last Star as occupied in his father's day or earlier were as follows:

kwâku'p, "hole" (i.e., a hollow spot) was the largest community. It lay on the south side of the Gila immediately west of the Painted Rock Mountains.

daθcakδ'ln,iθi'klc, "the place of long corn," was half a mile or more west of kwâku'p. It was so called because between the two villages lay a long level stretch on which corn was planted.

Three nameless villages lay on the south side to the west, evidently at no great distance. They were designated as opposite the following places on the north bank (in order westward):

gwllzo'n,iθi'klc, "where the old 'board' lay."
vituau'tc, "rocks around in a ring."
vivâθi'l,c, "mescal drink mountain"; a little black hill.

The following place names were recorded; all were west of the Painted Rock Mountains on the south side of the Gila: ans.uθau'lc, "standing boiled black mesquite sap"; ɣuma'xʷunyl'kwlca'm, "a child looking for the road"; vulpo"-âvâau'lc, "standing post." The last was supposed to be the western boundary established by the Mexicans. Agua Caliente (xakupl'nc, "hot water"), although occupied in Spanish days, had no settlement within the memory of informants.

Other Kaveltcadom settlements of the middle of the last century lay on the Gila in the northern section of the great bend. A village called vin,i'lkwuk,a'va, "where the black mountains meet," stood on the west bank above Gillispie Dam at or near Centennial Wash. Three temporary sites, occupied only when

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Kaveltcadom



gathering mesquite in the vicinity, were on the south side of the river opposite the mouth of Hassayampa Creek. They took their names from three small hills near which they lay (probably Powers Butte, Robbins Butte, and another): kwŭtupa'aa, "the last," was the most westerly; tŭmkuva'tc, "the middle one"; the easternmost had no name. The people using these three sites about the middle of the last century were Kaveltcadom, not Maricopa, according to Last Star, himself of Kaveltcadom descent.

### DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE ON MARICOPA AND KAVELTCADOM TERRITORY

It seems to have been taken for granted by many writers on Arizona tribes that within the historic period the Maricopa lived on the lower Gila below the great bend. It is assumed that they are the Cocomaricopa of Spanish record and that they moved eastward to join and become absorbed by the Pima well within our own day. The foregoing record of the native view of the matter is so much at odds with this that it is necessary to examine here the early documentary evidence.

The anthropological question involved is whether Piman contacts and Pima ingredients of Maricopa culture are ancient or recent. An answer will mean much for our conception of the rapidity of cultural assimilation.

The view that the Maricopa have moved from the lower Gila seems to be wholly mistaken. This inference seems to have arisen because (1) the Spanish explorers of the eighteenth century found Cocomaricopa and Opa at Gila Bend and below; (2) they met no inhabitants in nineteenth century Maricopa territory between Gila Crossing and Pima Butte; (3) the existence of the Kaveltcadom in the very territory assigned the Cocomaricopa was hitherto unknown; (4) Emory (1846) and Bartlett (1852), who found the Maricopa in the Gila Crossing-Pima Butte district, asserted that the Maricopa had moved from the lower Gila.

Are the Maricopa to be identified with the Cocomaricopa of the lower Gila? If not, where were they during the eighteenth century?

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ther, his point of view was that of the Pima, as is borne out by the names of the Cocomaricopa settlements, which appear in general to be Piman in form, not Yuman.[45]

Kino reached Casa Grande for the first time in November 1694. He found two rancherías beyond: El Tusonimo, four leagues to the west, and four leagues still farther west, El Coatoydag (San Andres). He does not name the occupants, merely implies that they were Pima, and remarks of two nations farther on (i.e., to the west, to the northwest on Salt River [Rio Azul], and on the Colorado), that "they speak a language very different." He designates them Cocomaricopas and Opas. In November 1697 he observed that six or seven rancherías of Pimas Sobaipuris lay near Casa Grande. At San Andres he spoke with some Cocomaricopas and "even sent them messages," implying that they were not residents of this village which lay in the general vicinity of Sacaton. In September (?) of the following year there came to San Andres Opas and Cocomaricopas, "who are a people of very distinct dress, features, and language, though connected by marriage with the Pimas." So far there is nothing in the evidence to prove that the Maricopa did not live on the Gila between Sacaton and the Salt River junction; on the contrary, since they are mentioned as on the lower Salt, part of their habitat according to native information, they may well have lived in the Sacate–Gila Crossing district. But according to Manje's account, a Pima village (San Bartolomé) was found three leagues above the junction of the Gila and Salt (in this account called the Rio Verde). This point would be Gila Crossing or somewhat to the west; that is, in historic Maricopa territory. We are confronted with two alternatives: either this was an isolated Piman village among the Maricopa (although no other villages are mentioned) or it was not then Maricopa territory. The best interpretation would be that the Maricopa were at the time chiefly resident in the general vicinity of Gila Bend, and near or on the

[45] All the place names given by Kino, Sedelmair, and the Anza party were discussed with Maricopa informants. Beyond suggesting that Kino's Tutto was kwáku'p and Sedelmair's Caborh was kukupu'aányiva'c, none of the names were recognized. They, too, thought the words Piman in origin.

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lower Salt River, but later moved into the Gila Crossing–Sacate district. This is partially confirmed by the entries of October 1700. At the ranchería El Tutto, somewhere near Gila Bend, his party was visited by Indians "from farther up and farther down" who by the context were Cocomaricopa.[46]

The distribution of villages on the lower Gila below Gila Bend coincides exactly with our information. A list of villages and the distances separating them is given twice in the journals.[47] In order downstream they were:

| 1699 | 1700 |
|---|---|
| Oyadoibuise (San Felipe y Santiago), west of Salt River | Oyadoibuise, east and up river from El Tutto |
| Two unnamed villages noted by Manje below Gila Bend | El Tutto, near Gila Bend |
| Tucsani (San Simón) | Guoydag, 6 leagues west |
| Vaqui (San Tadeo) | Batki (San Mateo), 7 leagues west |
| Cuat (San Mateo) | Three unnamed rancherías |
| Tutumagoidad or Tutum (San Matías), 4 leagues west of Cuat | Tutumagoydag (San Matías), 13 leagues west of Batki |

Beyond San Matías "we would be entering the Yuma nation, with whom they were on unfriendly terms." "Various rancherías which had been deserted during the preceding months" were seen in the succeeding fifteen leagues. The first Yumas were now encountered at San Pedro y San Pablo, twenty-seven leagues below San Matías (Manje makes it thirty). From here to the junction with the Colorado was about eighteen leagues.

This gives twenty-six leagues of Cocomaricopa territory from Tutto to San Matías, an interval (partly unoccupied) of twenty-seven or thirty leagues to the nearest Yuma, with the Yuma extending to the Colorado for about eighteen leagues; a total of about seventy-one leagues from Gila Bend to the Colorado. The recorded traverse is too great to assume a direct course: the distance is about 120 miles in an air line. But the proportions 41 (26+15 [the deserted villages]): 12 (27 [or 30]−15): 18 fits very

[46] Bolton, *op. cit.*, I, 128, 172–73, 186, 196, n. 262, 202, 246.

[47] *Op. cit.*, I, 196–97, n. 262, 246–53; cf. II, 207.

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175 361 well with our information. If Tutto was at or near Gila Bend, more than half the distance downstream takes us to the Mohawk Mountains; then comes the unoccupied territory extending slightly less than halfway to the Colorado, that is, to between Wellton and Dome, the known upper limit of the Yuma. The villages cannot be identified beyond this. Tutto seems to have been the principal village and may therefore be our kwăku'p, situated immediately west of the Painted Rock Mountains. The implication of the itinerary of 1700 is that all the Cocomaricopa villages were south of the Gila, which agrees with our information.

101 175 It is noteworthy that Kino ceased to mention the Opas in the later part of his record. It is also clearly implied that under Piman tutelage he designated the Cocomaricopas and Opas separately. Further, the languages of the Opas, Cocomaricopas, and [197] Yuma are said to be one,[4] that is not only Yuman, but specifically of the Yuma-Maricopa division. A possible implication is that the Opas, if they really formed a separate group, may have been the Kaveltcadom.

114 175 361 Sedelmair's information (1744) is brief and vague. He lists a score of Cocomaricopa rancherías within a span of thirty-six leagues downstream from what was apparently Gila Bend, beyond which by forty-five leagues lay the Colorado.

175 [114] The distribution given by Kino is confirmed and our inferences augmented by the information given seventy-five years after him by Garcés, Anza, Font, and Diaz. In May 1774 Anza and Diaz traversed the Gila from its mouth eastward nearly to Casa Grande. In June of the same year Garcés made a detour from Gila Bend to the north and east along the course of the Gila to the same terminal point near Casa Grande. As all other Spanish chroniclers cut off this segment of the river by taking the direct route from the Bend to the Pima villages, his excursion proves of the utmost significance for our purpose. The following year, in November, Anza, Font, and Garcés made the reverse traverse from near Casa Grande to the Colorado.

175 361 On the upstream journey in 1774 Anza reached the first village of the Cocomaricopa six leagues above the easily identifiable Mo-

[4] Bolton, *op. cit.*, I, 195.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15



hawk Range, itself seventeen or eighteen leagues east of the Colorado. This village, San Bernardino, was located on the south bank. Here he remarks "Some of them [Cocomaricopa] live on this river, but most of them dwell in the mountains between the Colorado and the Gila." This may refer only to their absence at the time gathering foodstuffs in the back country. But Garcés came through this hinterland at this time and found it deserted. Five leagues east brought Anza to an abandoned settlement on the north bank at Agua Caliente, still so named. Passing the Painted Rock Mountains after six leagues, he reached in three more San Simón y Judas de Upasoitac (Opasoitac). This was clearly in the vicinity of Gila Bend. "This place is well peopled by these Cocomaricopas, and others who really are the same, although they call them Opas, to which are added now some Págagos or Pimas who have deserted their country on account of the great drought and the still greater famine which is experienced in it." His gloss on his tabulated distances remarks on this as the "last village of the Cocomaricopa on the same Gila River." He now moved directly east, "in order to cut off the bend which the river makes to the north, which is entirely uninhabited": so he remarks, but note below that Garcés found villages there. Thirteen leagues from Gila Bend he reached "the Pima village of Sutaquison, which is maintained permanently on the river." In two leagues more he arrived at Juturitucan (San Juan Capistrano), "the last Pimas on the Gila River." He left the Gila after another two leagues, at a point the same distance below Casa Grande.[49]

Diaz's account of the same journey is but a replica of Anza's. He notes the Cocomaricopa village San Bernardino (seven leagues above the Mohawk Range) as "the first village of the tribe upstream." The region up to this point was uninhabited because of continuous war with the Yuma. A village of the Opas was reached fourteen leagues east and another at eighteen. A league beyond was San Simón y Judas de Upasoitac, "which is a village of the same tribe, although some Pimas ordinarily live in it." "Between the village of San Bernardino and this one of

[49] Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, II, 122–27, 235–40.

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361
Upasoitac, this river and its adjacent watering places are inhabited by Opas, Tutumaopas, and Cocomaricopas, none of which are different from the Yumas in anything, either in language or in any of their native qualities." After fifteen leagues he arrived at "the first pueblo of the heathen Pimas, called Sutaquison," and at the last Pima village in three leagues more. The Pima were confined to a space of three leagues on both banks of the river, with six villages within this span. Diaz's observations differ from Anza's only in noting the presence of two Opa villages a short distance below Gila Bend.[58]

Three parallel accounts are given for the westward journey down the Gila in November 1775, which followed the route of the previous year. All three set the distance from Casa Grande to the easterly Piman village, Uturituc, at seven leagues. From here to Sutaquison was four leagues (or two), with "two large villages of Pimas" between, or as Font wrote, "two smaller pueblos." Font wrote on Pima occupation of this tract, that "in the district of some six leagues there are five towns, the four above mentioned on this [south] side of the river, and one on the other side which Father Garcés called San Serafino de Nabcúb." It is noteworthy that, unlike Kino, none of these chroniclers leave the implication that Maricopa were living among these Pima. It is of further importance to note that the party spent several days at certain rain pools two leagues to the west of Sutaquison, that is in the vicinity of Pima Butte. In the middle of the nineteenth century this was in the heart of Maricopa territory, but none of the three chroniclers mention any settlements in the vicinity. Sixteen or seventeen leagues after leaving Sutaquison, they reached Opasoitac (Uparsoytac, "the settlement of the Opas") at Gila Bend by the direct route, without noting any signs of occupations in all the intervening territory. "Some villages of Opas," which Anza called Rancherías de San Martín, were reached two short leagues west of Opasoitac, and in four or five more some ranchos (San Diego) at the eastern foot of the Painted Rock Mountains. Anza remarks that from Opasoitac to this place "we have come through continuous villages and signs of

[114]

[58] *Ibid.*, pp. 300–305.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15



cultivation." Agua Caliente, on the north bank, was reached in another eight leagues: this year the place held two hundred people. Garcés wrote, "Immediately in this position are the rancherías called San Bernardino, and they are of the same nation" as those above at Gila Bend, or as Font had it, "This place and its district were named San Bernardino del Agua Caliente." The point is that this cannot be the San Bernardino of the eastward journey of 1774, because that was explicitly on the south bank and five leagues downstream. In fact at their next halt seven leagues down from Agua Caliente, Anza wrote, "A little above this place is San Bernardino, last of the habitations of the Opas or Cocomaricopas, who are one and the same." Further, at Agua Caliente Garcés had written, "Here is where ends this Opa or Cocomaricopa nation, which is all one; though nevertheless some of them are found further down river," presumably at or near the San Bernardino of the previous year. Evidently there were settlements both at Agua Caliente and here five leagues below. Confirming Garcés' remark on this as the western end of Opa-Cocomaricopa territory, Anza remarks at the lower San Bernardino, "all the country from here as far as the Yumas is unpopulated."

Localities from here westward to the Colorado are easily identified. The Mohawk Mountains were eleven and a half leagues below Agua Caliente (Anza) or fifteen (Font and Garcés). Five or six leagues westward was Antelope Hill. Both Font and Garcés note that this was called "metate hill" by the Indians, precisely the name given it by my Maricopa informants. The mouth of the Gila was fifteen to seventeen leagues beyond.[51]

To marshal all the evidence for the position of the Pima and Opa-Cocomaricopa settlements on the river, I present Table I giving the distances traversed in leagues. Obviously the travellers differed in their conception of each day's march or of the length of the league. How far they diverged is exemplified by the total distance from Uturituc (the eastern Pima pueblo) to the Mohawk Mountains: from thirty-five to fifty-one leagues. Font and Garcés either collaborated or copied one another's itinerary. Anza's record of the westward journey of 1775 appeals to me as the most precise: figuring two and two-thirds English statute miles to the Spanish league, it yields admirable results between fixed points when scaled on a map.

[51] *Ibid.*, III, 15–41, 214–24; IV, 34–71; Coues, I, 65–130.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1931) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa



Important information on the occupation of the Gila above Gila Bend can be derived from Garcés' account of a detour he made in June 1774.[51] Instead of taking a direct course due eastward from Gila Bend to the Pima villages below Casa Grande as all others had done, he followed the river north from the Bend, east to the Salt River junction, and up its course nearly to Casa Grande. Leaving Uparsoytac (Gila Bend), he found a village called Tugsapi six leagues north, presumably below the present Gillispie Dam. Two leagues north was Tucabi (Tugabi), which by his statement must have been a straggling settlement two and

TABLE I

DISTANCES FROM CASA GRANDE TO THE COLORADO RIVER

| | EASTWARD, 1774 | | WESTWARD, 1775 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Anza | Díaz | Anza | Font | Garcés |
| Casa Grande to Uturituc | 4 | ..... | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| Uturituc to Sutaquison (Casa Blanca) | 2 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 4 |
| Sutaquison to Opasoitac (Gila Bend) | 13 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 17 |
| Opasoitac to San Martín | ..... | 1 | 1½± | 2— | 2 |
| San Martín to San Diego (east of Painted Rock) | ..... | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| Opasoitac to Painted Rock | 3 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ... |
| San Diego to Aritoac (river crossing) | ..... | 4 | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| San Diego to Agua Caliente | ..... | ..... | 8 | 8 | 8 |
| Painted Rock to Agua Caliente | 6 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Aritoac to San Bernardino | ..... | 10 | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Agua Caliente to San Bernardino | 5 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Agua Caliente to below San Bernardino | ..... | ..... | 7 | ..... | ..... |
| Agua Caliente to Mohawk Mountains | ..... | ..... | ..... | 15 | 15 |
| San Bernardino to Mohawk Mountains | 6 | 7 | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Below San Bernardino to Mohawk Mountains | ..... | ..... | 4½ | ..... | ..... |
| Mohawk Mountains to Antelope Hill | ..... | ..... | 5 | 6+ | 6 |
| Mohawk Mountains to Colorado River | 17(18) | 19 | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Antelope Hill to Colorado River | ..... | ..... | 15 | 16 | 17 |
| Uturituc to Mohawk Mountains | 35 | 44 | 43 | 51 | 51 |
| Gila Bend to Colorado River | 37(38) | 45 | 45 | 52 | 53 |

[51] Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, II, 388–89.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa



a half leagues in extent. This was presumably in the general vicinity of Hassayampa Creek. Both these places were evidently on the left bank of the Gila. Since he does not state that the people occupying these settlements differed from those of Gila Bend, we may plausibly infer that they were Opa-Cocomaricopa.[12] Still following the south bank, after seven and a half leagues Garcés met people of Sutaquison (the Pima village) gathering sahuaro fruit, and five leagues beyond he reached the Pima villages named below ("three pueblos with many people"). If Sutaquison was in the vicinity of Casa Blanca, as all other records indicate, he met these Pima on Santa Cruz slough midway of Sierra Estrella, that is, in what was later Maricopa territory. Garcés then adds to our knowledge of Pima occupation: on the north side of the Gila a league east of Sutaquison he found a large pueblo called Nacub and in a little more than another league, but on the south side, a "very populous" settlement, Tuburs Cabors. Uturituc was reached a little more than a league beyond. Now he adds an easternmost Pima village (Pitac) three leagues east, which none of the others mention.

To bring this long consideration of observations in 1774–75 to a head, they may be summarized as follows. Pima villages occupied both sides of the Gila from some distance below Casa Grande westward to Casa Blanca and perhaps beyond. There is no mention of encountering Yuman speaking peoples in the district, and more significantly, the region west of Pima Butte, that is, the heart of Maricopa territory in 1850, was unoccupied. Opa and Cocomaricopa held the Gila from below the Salt River junction downstream to San Bernardino, sixteen to nineteen miles above the Mohawk Mountains. Their villages were all on the left bank, with the exception of Agua Caliente, and were concentrated in the fifteen or twenty mile stretch from Gila Bend down to the Painted Rock Mountains. Below the Mohawk Mountains the country was uninhabited until the Yuma were reached near the mouth of the Gila.

All this is as closely confirmatory of Kino's information as one should reasonably expect. The accounts of 1694–1700 and of

[12] Bolton also assumes this.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa



1774–75 agree rather precisely for the Gila below Gila Bend. Kino's reference to Yumans "to the northwest on the Rio Azul" (that is from the direction of the Pima villages) should perhaps now be interpreted to mean on the Gila below the Salt junction where Garcés found them. But since Garcés did not traverse the Salt River, it may well be that they were also on its extreme lower course. In any event the Maricopa could have been but a short distance west of their position of the following century.

To return to the identification of the names Cocomaricopa and Opa. The chroniclers of 1774–75 used the terms as though synonymous or at least implied that there was no distinction of moment between them. At Opasoitac (Gila Bend) Anza wrote in 1774, "This place is well peopled by these Cocomaricopa, and others who really are the same, although they call them Opas," and again in 1775, "the tribe of the Opas and Cocomaricopas," in the singular. At the other end of his march he spoke of "San Bernardino, last of the habitations of Opas or Cocomaricopas, who are one and the same." Diaz alone wrote that the district between Opasoitac and San Bernardino was "inhabited by Opas, Tutumaopas, and Cocomaricopas," mentioning a third people, but Diaz was the most casual of the four chroniclers.

Garcés' manner of reference is especially significant. Twice he wrote, "the Opa nation, or Cocomaricopa, which is the same" and "this Opa or Cocomaricopa nation, which is all one," as though these were synonyms. But he may have meant to distinguish two divisions of one people, or at least linked groups. Later in his diary he ignores the Opa, referring regularly to the Cocomaricopa.[34] There is, however, an important exception to this: on his return journey (1776) through their settlements he speaks of arriving among "the Cocomaricopas of the Agua Caliente" and later "continued my journey, visiting the rancherias of the Opas." This would seem to make a distinction, with the Opa upstream of the Cocomaricopa. This may also be inferred from Font's statements: he wrote of Opasoitac as a "settlement of the Opas" and of "some villages of Opas" just below.

[34] Note that he refers only to Cocomaricopa in his tabular summary of tribal populations (Coues, II, 443).

1:Spier E-6 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Kaveltcadom



But at Agua Caliente, "Many Cocomaricopa Indians assembled to see us. They are the same as the Opas, but are distinguished in name by the district they inhabit." Again he remarked, "I may note that the Opas and Cocomaricopas are one and the same tribe." Anza writing in retrospect also makes the distinction: "Ascending the Gila from the junction [with the Colorado], we have a desert for about fifteen leagues, till we come to the first village of the Cocomaricopas, after which come the Opas and Pimas, whose last pueblo must be about fifty leagues from the junction."[35]

Here is conflicting testimony: either the Opa and Cocomaricopa were a single people or they were two tribes identical in language and customs and perhaps occupying somewhat distinct territories. My interpretation is that the natives recognized a distinction between two peoples who may have occupied joint territory (as the Maricopa and their guest tribes did in the following century), and that the Spanish, failing to see how the distinction applied, came finally to state that the Cocomaricopa were below and the Opa above, which may not have been the geographic relation at all. If then there was truly a distinction between the two, and the Cocomaricopa are to be identified with the Maricopa of our day, I do not see that we can avoid the implication that the Opa were the Kaveltcadom.[36]

By the middle of the nineteenth century the lower Gila was abandoned and the Maricopa were found in the position assigned them by native testimony. Emory in 1846 and Bartlett in 1852 found the Gila unoccupied for two hundred miles above its mouth. Emory's testimony is that the Maricopa occupied the Gila valley from a point identifiable as the Maricopa Wells–Sacate district to north of the Salt River.[37] Bartlett found the most westerly Maricopa village a mile or more east of a point

[35] Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, II, 124, 238, 301; III, 23, 31; IV, 46, 57; V, 391; Coues, I, 113, 123; II, 436.

[36] The name Opa may be simply the common Yuman stem apa', "man." If it is permissible to identify it in the name of their village Opasoitac, as commonly Upasoitac, this would be confirmation, since the latter (upa) more closely resembles the Yuman pronunciation.

[37] Emory, p. 86.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Kaveltcadom



later to be known as Maricopa Wells; that is, in the neighborhood of Pima Butte or Sacate. From this point eastward Maricopa and Pima occupation was continuous for twelve or fifteen miles along the south side of the Gila.[38]

"The valley or bottom-land occupied by the Pimos and Coco-Maricopas extends about fifteen miles along the south side of the Gila, and is from two to four miles in width, nearly the whole being occupied by the villages and cultivated fields. The Pimos occupy the eastern portion. There is no dividing line between them, nor anything to distinguish the villages of one from the other. The whole of this plain is intersected by irrigating canals from the Gila, by which they are enabled to control the waters, and raise the most luxuriant crops. At the western end of the valley is a rich tract of grass, where we had our encampment [Maricopa Wells]. This is a mile or more [west] from the nearest village of the Coco-Maricopas. On the northern side of the river there is less bottom-land, and the irrigation is more difficult. There are a few cultivated spots here; but it is too much exposed to the attacks of their enemies for either tribe to reside upon it."

Several unoccupied houses were found on the Salt River about twelve miles above its mouth, i.e., just below Phoenix.

"Francisco [a Maricopa] told us they were used by his people and the Pimos when they came here to fish. He also told us that two years before, when the cholera appeared among them, they abandoned their dwellings on the Gila and came here to escape the pestilence."

This agrees precisely with my information on the location of settlements and fishing stations in the 1850s.

The Kaveltcadom had left the lower Gila and Gila Bend before this day. Emory found at Gila Bend signs of "modern Indian tenements" but the place was unoccupied, as indeed was the whole span to the Colorado River. He wrote:

"We know the Maricopas have moved gradually from the gulf of California to their present location in juxta position with the Pimos. Carson found them, so late as the year 1826, at the mouth of the Gila; and Dr. Anderson, who passed from Sonora to California in 1828, found them, as near as we could reckon from his notes, about the place we are now encamped in [Gila Bend]. The shells we found today were, in my opinion, evidently brought by the Maricopas from the sea. They differ from those we found among the ruins."[39]

[38] *Personal Narrative*, II, 179, 210, 215, 232, 241. Bartlett had excellent opportunity for observation. He followed the Gila closely from its mouth to above Casa Grande, leaving it only between Gila Bend and Maricopa Wells. He also made a circuit from Maricopa Wells north to the Salt River, reaching it at a point about twelve miles above its mouth, thence up the Salt to the mountains, and south to the Pima villages.

[39] Emory, p. 89. Carson was a member of his party. Incidentally, Emory is notorious as a careless observer.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Kohuana Maricopa
Kaveltcadom
Halchidhoma,
Halyikwamai



from the lower Gila and the Colorado assigned to the latter.[46] Bartlett himself asserts no more than that the Maricopa lived on the lower Gila, and places the blame for assigning their earlier habitat to the Colorado on Emory. He quotes the latter's affirmation that the Maricopa moved gradually from the Gulf of California, adding "I cannot learn that they ever were on the Gulf."[46] The former position of the Maricopa on the Colorado must remain an inference.

To summarize, after this long excursion into the documentary evidence, we can assert with some confidence that during the eighteenth century the Maricopa were occupying the Gila from the Salt River junction down toward Gila Bend, with the Kaveltcadom below them from Gila Bend to within twenty miles of the Mohawk Range. There may have been Maricopa settled on the extreme lower course of the Salt and even on the Gila immediately above the junction with the Salt, although this is frankly a supposition. At any rate the region of the junction may well have been their fishing and mesquite gathering territory. Some such use may also have been made of the Gila bottoms eastward to Pima Butte. From Gila Bend downstream the two tribes may have occupied the river bottom jointly. By 1825–30 the Maricopa had shifted their locus upstream thirty or forty miles to the Gila Crossing–Pima Butte district. Here they were joined by the Halchidhoma between 1833 and 1838, with the Kohuana and Halyikwamai following in 1838 and 1839. More or less simultaneously with Maricopa occupation of the middle Gila near the Pima, the latter received increments of their own people from the Santa Cruz valley, abandoned by reason of Apache pressure. In 1835–38 the Kaveltcadom were still at Gila Bend, although they may by that time have left the river below Painted Rock. By 1852 all the Kaveltcadom had joined the Maricopa in the Sacate district.

It was the fact that the existence of the Kaveltcadom was

[46] For example, Curtis (II, 81) states that vague Maricopa, Yuma, and Mohave tradition relates that the Maricopa once lived on the Colorado between the Mohave and Yuma, making their way up the Gila in a series of movements. There is nothing to show that the reference is not to the allied tribes rather than to the Maricopa.

[46] Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, II, 269.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa



137 country included within the juncture of the Gila and Salt Rivers. Indeed, this region was so choked with mesquite and other bushes as to be nearly impenetrable. For that reason, being at [648] the same time relatively near the Yavapai, it was dangerous territory. This was also the best region for fishing and abounded in 226 rabbits. Fish were taken mostly in Santa Cruz slough at the northern foot of the Sierra Estrella and at the Salt-Gila confluence. From there the Maricopa drifted up the Salt fishing and gathering to a point just above Phoenix, beyond which it was not safe to go. They did not fish much in the Gila. Family parties [594] went together, camping under the bushes. As the women went [222] out gathering mesquite beans, men would accompany them for [246] protection and to hunt jackrabbits. Camp was frequently shifted [361] as the bushes were stripped clean. It was also their habit to move back and forth between the Gila and Salt to foil any lurking enemies. It was customary to include the whole family on such expeditions, although younger children were ordinarily left home in the care of friends when women went out on a day's excursion.

### WILD PLANT PRODUCTS

222 The chief interest in wild plant products lay in the mesquite beans and giant cactus (sahuaro) fruit. Other wild plants were more casually used: the following description includes the principal but is not exhaustive.

Mesquite furnished the plant staple. Two or three varieties of [824] the bush grew in this region: screw and straight bean mesquite, and a subvariety of the latter, differing from the common variety in its large thorns. (It is of interest that the straight bean and its bush bore separate names, iya' and ana'l,: this was not true of the screw bean, i'i'c, nor the long thorned bean, tŏtxač'tk:) The straight bean variety was most plentiful. These bean pods were said to be softer than those growing in the old Halchidhoma country on the Colorado. Mesquite was gathered from early July to the end of August. Certain trees were known for large or [476] sweet beans, but these were not private property. A group of women would go gathering together for fear of the enemy; several men might be within reach.

2:Bartlett G-6 (1850-1853) 1854
NT15 River Yumans NT15
Pima NV429



most luxuriant crops. At the western end of the valley is a rich tract of grass, where we had our encampment. This is a mile or more from the nearest village of the Coco-Maricopas. On the northern side of the river there is less bottom-land, and the irrigation is more difficult. There are a few cultivated spots here; but it is too much exposed to the attacks of their enemies for either tribe to reside upon it.

The villages consist of groups of from twenty to fifty habitations, surrounded by gardens and cultivated fields, intersected in every direction by acequias, which lead the water from the Gila. Their mode of irrigation is the same as that practised in various parts of Mexico. Their cultivated fields are generally fenced with crooked stakes, wattled with brush, the thorny mezquit predominating; although I noticed [illegible] patches of wheat, a long distance from any village, that were not inclosed.

Their houses are built with stakes, poles, corn-shucks, and straw. For the small houses, four upright stakes forked at one end are inserted in the ground. For the larger dwellings nine are used; three on each side, and one in the centre. Across the tops of these, other sticks are laid to support the roof. Next a row of poles is inserted in the ground, a few feet outside the larger upright stakes, bent over towards the centre and fastened to the horizontal beams. These are then united in the centre, forming a slightly rounded top. Smaller poles are now horizontally interlaced with the upright ones, and between them straw, corn-shucks, or rushes are interwoven in large masses, so as to shed the rain and protect them from the intense heat of the

2:Bartlett G-5 (1850-1853) 1854
NT15 River Yumans NT15
Pima AU429



air through the grain deposited in them. They are wattled with straw and rushes, and are sometimes coated with a thick layer of mud. As this becomes dry, additional layers of mud are added, which render

P RY 343

Coco-Maricopa Village.

P RY [361] 231]

them impervious to water. The wheat and shelled corn (maize) are put into large vases or baskets, from three to five feet high, made out of ropes of wheaten straw. These ropes, which are as thick as one's arm, are coiled around into graceful forms, and sewed together like some kinds of basket work. The vases

P RY [415]

5:Hodge E-4 (no date)1959
NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

175 Pima on Gila r., Ariz.; this was enlarged
648 by Executive order of Aug. 31, 1876; revoked and other lands set apart by Executive order of June 14, 1879; enlarged by Executive orders of May 5, 1882, and Nov. 15, 1883. No treaty was ever made with them.

103 The following rancherias and other set-
361 tlements at different periods are judged, from their situation, to have belonged to the Maricopa tribe: Aicatum, Amoque, Aopomue, Aqui, Aquimundurech, Aritutoc, Atiahigui, Aycate, Baguiburisac, Caborh, Caborica, Cant, Choutikwuchik, Cost, Cocoigui, Cobate, Comarchdut, Cuburidurch, Cudurimuitac, Duestumac, Gohate, Guias, Hihama, Hiyayulge,

[142]
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[291]

MARICOPA YOUNG MAN AND WOMAN

Hueso Parado (in part), Khauweshetawes, Kwatchampedau, Norchean, Noscaric, Oitac, Ojistaibues, Pipiaca, Pitaya, Rinconada, Sacaton, San Bernardino, San Geronimo, San Martin, San Rafael, Santiago, Sasabac, Shobotarcham, Sibagoida, Sibrepoe, Sicoroidag, Soenadut, Stucabitic, Sudac, Sudacsesaba, Tadeo Vaqui,

[P 806 B]

5:Hodge E-4 (no date)1959
NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

103
361
101
113

Tahapit, Toa, Toasdut, Tota, Tuburch, Tuburh, Tubutavia, Tucavi, Tucsani, Tucsanic, Tuesapit, Tumac, Tuquisan, Tutomagoidag, Uparch, Upsoitac, Ulterrum, Urchaositac, and Yayahaye. (F. W. H.)

Aashkwa'.—Gatschet, Yuma MS., II, 138, 1877 (Yavapai name). A'wy-pe-pa.—Grossman, Pima and Papago vocab., B. A. E., 1871 (Pima name). Gesanchenga.—Kino (ca. 1699) in Doc. Hist. Mex., 4th s., I, 349, 1856. Gesanchenpan.—Pattie, Pers. Narr., 68, 1833. Gesanchi.—Carver, Travels, map, 1778. Gesanchinpan.—D'Anville, map Am. Sept., 1746. Gesanchinpan.—Mota-Padilla, Hist. de la Conquista, 561, 1742. Gesanchinpanc.—Hughes, Doniphan's Exped., 336-1, 1848. Gesanchinpan.—D'Anville, map N. A. (Bolton's ed.), 1752. Gesanchipa.—Villa-Señor, Theatro Am., pt. 2, 403, 1748. Gesanchipan.—Rudo Ensayo (ca. 1763), 24, 1863, 1863. Geso Hasthpa.—Eastman, map (1853) in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, IV, 24-25, 1854. Hapanpa.—Keane in Stanford, Compend., 508, 1878. Harapa.—Cooke in Emory, Recon., 542, 1848. Harapas.—Simpson in Rep. Sec. War, 57, 1850. Harlapa.—Emory, Recon., 80, 1848. Hirapas.—Hughes, Doniphan's Exped., 337, 1848. Hirapas.—Ibid. Gahqdp.—ten Kate, Reizen in N. A., 160, 1885 (Ootpâpor; Pima name for). Gâqdp.—Ibid. Gqpas.—Rudo Ensayo (ca. 1763), 24, 1863. Gpas.—Venegas, Hist. Cal., I, 257, 261, 1759. Gsaiac.—Zarate-Salmeron (ca. 1629), Rel., in Land of Sunshine, 105, Jan. 1900 (probably identical). Gsaiar.—Bandelier (after Salmeron) in Arch. Inst. Papers, III, 110, 1890. Ha-pa.—A. Hrdlicka, Inf'n, 1905 (own name). Hpdapa.—ten Kate, Reizen in N. A., 160, 1885 ('people': own name). Ki-ke-on.—White, MS. Hist. Apaches, 1875, B. A. E. (Apache name for Pima, Papago, and Maricopa: 'living in sand houses,' from Apache *sai* 'sand,' *ki* 'house'; pronounced *Sai'kine*). Ta'hbe.—Gatschet, Yuma MS., 68, 1886 (Yavapai name). Tahbapat.—Ibid. (Havasupai name). Widshi ishapa.—Ibid., 371, 1886 (Tonto name; also applied to Pima and Papago).

[P. 807 A]

[P. 807 B. contains no text on the Maricopa]